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Message Text

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ACTION EUR-25

INFO OCT-01 ADP-00 CU-04 IO-12 ACDA-19 CIAE-00 PM-07

INR-10 L-03 NEA-10 NSAE-00 PA-03 RSC-01 PRS-01 GAC-01

USIA-12 TRSE-00 MBFR-03 SAJ-01 RSR-01 OMB-01 H-02

NSC-10 SS-15 /142 W
---------- 039806
R 251545 Z MAY 73
FM AMEMBASSY HELSINKI
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 6175
INFO SECDEF WASHDC
ALL CSCE CAPITALS 255
USMISSION BERLIN

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 HELSINKI 1405

E. O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PFOR
SUBJECT: CSCE: HUMAN CONTACTS ISSUE-- MAY 23-24 DISCUSSIONS

BEGIN SUMMARY: WORKING GROUP APPROACHED BRINK OF CONSENSUS ON HUMAN CONTACTS SUBCOMMITTEE MANDATE ON MAY 24, BUT CLUMSY SOVIET EFFORT TO FORCE PACE PARTIALLY UNRAVELED CORRIDOR EFFORT TO PROVIDE GRACEFUL RETREAT FOR SWISS AND ITALIANS. SWISS ARE ACTIVELY COLLABORATING IN EFFORTS TO RESTORE FRGILE AGREEMENT ON ONE DISPUTED POINT. ITALIANS ARE AWAITING INSTRUCTIONS ON ANOTHER UNRESOLVED POINT, AND ARE AWARE THAT NO ALLIED COUNTRY SUPPORTS THEM. INFORMAL CONTACTS ON CULTURE, EDUCATION AND INFORMATION SUBSECTIONS OF MANDATE HAVE BORNE FRUIT, CLEARING WAY FOR WORKING GROUP TO TURN TO THESE ITEMS WITH BROAD MEASURE OF PRIOR AGREEMENT, ALTHOUGH WE ANTICIPATE SOME PROBLEMS IN INFORMATION SUBSECTION. END SUMMARY.

1. INFORMAL DRAFTING GROUP ON MAY 23 BEGAN EFFORT, CARRIED OVER INTO WORKING GROUP SAME DAY, TO DEAL WITH SWISS, ITALIAN AND VATICAN CONCERNS STANDING IN WAY OF
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CONSENSUS ON HUMAN CONTACTS SUBCOMMITTEE MANDATE. SWISS MADE EXPLICIT THEIR CRITICISM OF BLOC- TO- BLOC NATURE OF MAY 21 COMPROMISE DRAFT (TEXT IN HELSINKI 1351), AND THEN RAISED TWO SIGNFICANT POINTS: WORDS " AND RELATIONSHIP" SHOULD BE ADDED TO SUB- PARA (B, THEREBY EXPANDING THE MEANING OF " FAMILY TIES" IN CONTEXT OF MEETINGS AND CONTACTS; SOVIET LANGUAGE STATING THAT RELEVANT MATTERS WOULD BE SETTLED BY " THE STATES CONCERNED" REQUIRED CLARIFICATION. SWISS WONDERED WHETHER " PARTICIPATING" STATES WOULD BE BETTER PHRASE.

2. ITALIANS FOCUSED ON " STATES CONCERNED" QUESTION RAISED BY SWISS AND ALSO EXPRESSED DISSATISFACTION WITH COMPROMISE LANGUATE IN FIRST SENTENCE WHICH INSTRUCTED SUBCOMMITTEE TO " PREPARE PROPOSALS." THEY ASKED THAT " STATES CONCERNED" PHRASE BE DELETED AND THAT STRONGER EXPRESSION BE FOUND TO REPLACE " PREPARE PROPOSALS."

3. DURING ENSUING DISCUSSION, FRANCE, SPAIN AND AUSTRIA ALL INDICATED THAT SWISS AND ITALIAN CONCERN OVER MEANING OF LANGUATE ON SETTLEMENT " BY STATES CONCERNED" WAS LEGITIMATE, WHILE SOVIETS EMPHASIZED THAT THIS PHRASE WAS ESSENTIAL PART OF THE PACKAGE.

4. HOLY SEE CONTINUED TO URGE AMENDMENT TO INCLUDE REFERENCE TO TRAVEL FOR " RELIGIOUS AND HUMANITARIAN REASONS" IN SUB- PARA (B). SEVERAL SPEAKERS SUPPORTED AMENDMENT, BUT NO FORMULA WAS PROPOSED TO OVERCOME SOVIET OBJECTIONS.

5. GIVEN INCONCLUSIVE OUTCOME OF MAY 23 WORK, FRG TOOK INITIATIVE TO CONVENE ANOTHER INFORMAL GROUP IN MORNING OF MAY 24, HELD IN HOTEL ROOM TO KEEP ATTENDANCE FROM BALLOONING. UNDER SWISS TUTELAGE, SCENARIO WAS WORKED OUT TO PROVIDE GRACEFUL WAY FOR SWISS TO DROP THEIR INSISTENCE ON AMENDING " FAMILY TIES." TECHNIQUE, WHICH HAD FAILED IN MAY 23 WORKING GROUP BUT SUCCEEDED ON MAY 24 AFTER REHEARSAL, WAS TO ASK POLAND WHETHER IT INTERPRETED THE RODS " FAMILY TIES" IN BROAD SENSE.
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POLAND GAVE SIMPLE AFFIRMATIVE ANSWER IN MAY 24 WORKING GROUP, WHEREAS IT HAD QUALIFIED ITS REPLY ON MAY 23. SWISS REP AGREED TO DROP HIS AMENDMENT UPON RECEIVING POLISH AFFIRMATIVE ANSWER.

6. LINES OF POSSIBLE COMPROMISE WITH HOLY SEE ALSO EMERGED AT HOTEL ROOM MEETING, ESSENCE OF WHICH WOULD BE

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TO DROP MENTION OF RELIGIOUS TRAVEL IN HUMAN CONTACTS
MANDATE IN EXCHANGE FOR SOME MENTION OF PRINCIPLE OF
RELIGIOUS FREEDOM IN BASKET I. SOVIETS HAVE INDICATED
PRIVATELY THAT THEY MIGHT BE ABLE TO ACCOMMODATE HOLY
SEE IN BASKET I. FINALLY, SWISS, ITALIAN, AND
AUSTRIANS DID NOT ADVERT TO " STATES CONCERNED",
LEAVING IMPRESSION THEY WERE TACITLY
DROPPING OBJECTIONS TO THIS LANGUAGE.

7. FOREGOING EFFORTS BROUGHTWORKING GROUP ON
MAY 24 TO COFFEE BREAK APPARENTLY WITH ONLY ONE MAJOR
UNRESOLVED PROBLEM-- THE ITALIAN INSISTENCE ON A
STRONGER TERM THAN " PROPOSAL" IN OPENING SENTENCE.
SWISS ATTEMPTED TO USE BREAK TO PROMOTE ITALIAN- SOVIET
AGREEMENT, BUT NEITHER SIDE BUDGED.

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INFO OCT-01 ADP-00 CIAE-00 PM-07 H-02 INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00

NSC-10 PA-03 RSC-01 PRS-01 SS-15 USIA-12 NEA-10

GAC-01 TRSE-00 MBFR-03 SAJ-01 OMB-01 IO-12 CU-04

ACDA-19 RSR-01 /142 W
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R 251545 Z MAY 73
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INFO SECDEF WASHDC
ALL CSCE CAPITALS 256
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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 HELSINKI 1405

8. FOLLOWING BREAK, USSR (ZORIN) MADE POOR TACTICAL
DECISION TO TRY TO ISOLATE ITALY, LAUNCHING A HARSH AND THINLY
VEILED ATTACK ON THE " ONE DELEGATION" BLOCKING CON-
SENSUS OVER A SINGLE PHRASE. ITALY (FERRARIS)
RESPONDED IN KIND AND REOPENED QUESTION THAT HAD BEEN
TACITLY DROPPED BY EVERYBODY-- THE PHRASE " BY THE
STATES CONCERNED." SWISS UNWISELY TRIED, WITHOUT
PRIOR COORDINATION, TO FIND FACE- SAVING RETREAT FOR
ITALY AND THEMSELVES ON LATTER QUESTION BY ASKING

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SOVIETS WHAT THEY MEANT BY PHRASE, AND ZORIN MADE
HIS SECOND BLUNDER OF THE DAY IN IMPLYING THAT
STATES WOULD RESOLVE THEIR FREER MOVEMENT PROBLEMS
ON A BILATERAL BASIS. AFTER ITALIANS AND SWISS
PREDICTABLY TOOK EXCEPTION TO THIS INTERPRETATION, HE
OFFERED A SECOND ARGUMENT, WHICH MIGHT LATER SERVE TO
BREAK IMPASSE, BY SAYING THAT FIRST AND SECOND SEN-
TENCES MUST BE VIEWED AS A WHOLE AND THAT THIS
LANGUAGE DEMONSTRATED POSITIVE INTEREST OF EAST IN
SETTLING PROBLEMS IN THIS SPHERE. ITALIANS, JOINED BY
SWISS AND AUSTRIANS, SAID THEY WOULD REQUEST NEW
INSTRUCTIONS. MEETING CONCLUDED WITH TEMPERS HIGH AND
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RECRIMINATION IN THE AIR.

9. AT MORNING NATO CAUCUS MAY 25, UK REPORTED THAT
SOVIET DELEGATION ADVISER HAD APPROACHED SWISS AFTER
WORKING GROUP AND ASKED THEIR COOPERATION IN REPAIRING
DAMAGE. HE IMPLICITLY ACKNOWLEDGED ZORIN' S POOR
HANDLING OF TACTICS UNDER CONSENSUS RULES OF MPT. NATO
CAUCUS AGREED THAT NETHERLANDS WOULD CONSULT WITH SWISS
AND SOVIETS TO WORK OUT SENARIO INVOLVING ORAL
INTERPRETIVE STATEMENTS WHICH WOULD ALLOW ALL TO DROP
OBJECTIONS TO " STATES CONCERNED" FORMULA. ITALY
RAISED NO OBJECTION TO THIS EFFORT, BUT SAID IT COULD
NOT NOW ABANDON ITS OTHER DEMAND FOR INSERTION OF WORD
" CONCRETE" TO STRENGTHEN FIRST SENTENCE DESCRIPTION OF
" PROPOSALS". ITALY RECEIVED NO SUPPORT ON SUBSTANCE
FROM ALLIES, BUT THERE WAS NO OBJECTION TO ITALIAN
SUGGESTION THAT THIS ISSUE BE DEFERRED UNTIL MONDAY ,
WITH WORK ON OTHER SUBCOMMITTEE MANDATES TO GO AHEAD
IN THE MEANTIME.

10. ALLIES WHO HAVE BEEN IN TOUCH WITH WARSAW PACT
COUNTERPARTS ON CULTURE, EDUCATION AND INFORMATION
SUBSECTIONS REPORTED CONSIDERABLE PROGRESS IN
NARROWING DIFFERENCES. WORKING GROUP WILL THUS BE
IN POSITION TO FOCUS ON SMALL NUMBER OF ISSUES IN
CULTURE AND EDUCATION, BUT INFORMATION SECTION COULD
BE STICKIER.
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